

Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D. C. 20505

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15 AUG 1985

DIRECTORATE FOR INTELLIGENCE

MEMORANDUM FOR: William Kirby  
Deputy Assistant Secretary for  
Middle East Negotiations,  
Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

FROM: [redacted]  
Chief, Geography Division

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SUBJECT: Israeli West Bank Settlement Activity Under the  
National Unity Government

1. Attached is a typescript concerning the construction and  
populating of settlements in the West Bank under Israel's  
National Unity government. [redacted]

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2. The research and analysis were done by [redacted]  
of the Near East Branch, Geography Division, Office of Global  
Issues. [redacted]

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3. If you have any questions concerning this memorandum,  
please call me [redacted]

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Attachment: West Bank: Israeli Settlement Activity Under the  
National Unity Government. [redacted]  
GI M 85-10203 [redacted]

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SUBJECT: West Bank: Israeli Settlement Activity Under the  
National Unity Government

OGI/GD/NE, [REDACTED] (August 1985)

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## DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

August 1985

Summary

[redacted] construction in existing West Bank settlements is proceeding at a much slower pace under the Israeli National Unity government than in previous years. Along with the slowdown in new housing starts is a marked decrease in the number of new settlements started--only one since September 1984. In contrast, more than 8,600 people have arrived in the settlements since September; most moving into recently completed units in a small number of urban settlements. Despite this increase in population, settlers are disappointed with the scaled-down pace of construction and with perceived settlement inactivity on the part of the government, and, as a result, continue to threaten establishment of unauthorized settlements. [redacted]

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This memorandum was prepared by [redacted] Geography Division, Office of Global Issues. The information contained herein is updated to 1 August 1985. Comments and questions may be addressed to [redacted] Chief, Near East Branch, Geography Division, [redacted]

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New Construction

Although economic austerity measures have slowed the pace of settlement construction well below that of the 1982-83 boom years, housing construction within existing West Bank settlements has continued under the National Unity government.<sup>1</sup> [redacted]

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- 1,482 housing units have been started, of which 591 have been completed. This compares with 5,116 units started between September 1982 and September 1984, of which 3,995 were completed.
- Population capacity in the West Bank settlements increased by more than 7,000 people to 63,660.
- 93 additional nonresidential buildings have been started, including four schools, seven industrial buildings, five cattle sheds, and a synagogue.
- Five settlement sites, unimproved except for initial grading prior to September, have seen active building construction. [redacted]

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New housing construction has not been uniformly distributed throughout the territory. On the whole, the settlements of western Samaria that are being constructed by private developers generally are weathering Israel's present economic woes best. For example, despite court cases regarding disputed land ownership, and conflicts between the developing company and the orthodox settlers, more than 290 housing units have been started in 'Immanu'el since September 1984. (There are exceptions--construction at nearby Nofim has been at a near standstill because of the developer's financial problems.) More than 60 percent of new housing starts occurred in five settlements of Western Samaria. Elsewhere in the West Bank, there is less new construction. In the financially strapped agricultural settlements of the Jordan Valley, only 89 housing units were started; similarly, only 24 units were started in the 'Ezyon bloc, all of which were in Efratah. [redacted]

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<sup>1</sup>This study does not include the 67 square kilometers of West Bank territory unilaterally annexed by Israel to Jerusalem. [redacted]

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In addition to constructing new units, settlers increasingly are converting their smaller, more temporary dwellings (mobile homes, double prefab units) into more permanent quarters. At least 106 units--many in the smaller, more remote settlements--have begun this transformation since last September. Adding a second story, additional rooms, siding, and tile roof to an existing prefab structure is an economical way of creating a roomier, more attractive house. Not coincidentally, this practice creates a more solid "fact on the landscape" should any future territorial compromise suggest settlement dismantlement.

### Population

As of 20 July 1985, approximately 40,670 settlers resided in the West Bank (see table).<sup>3</sup> Some 8,670 of these settlers have arrived since September 1984. Of the new settlers, 71 percent moved into recently readied units in the five large urban settlements of Alfe Menashe, Ari'el, Giv'at Ze'ev, 'Immanu'el, and Ma'ale Adummim, all located within easy commuting distance of Jerusalem or Tel Aviv. We estimate that, excluding Ma'ale Adummim, less than 10 percent of new arrivals settled in the 47 settlements lying east of the central Janin-Jerusalem ridge road and north of the Jerusalem-Jericho highway.

Population growth since September 1984 has been greater than it was during each of the two previous years. This growth directly resulted from the large number of living units that were begun during the construction boom of 1982-83, and that were recently made available for occupation (figure 1). If present trends continue, however, high population growth is unlikely to continue, as the effects of today's slowdown in construction are felt on the number of new arrivals one and two years hence.

### New Settlements and Settler Reaction

Of the 169 Jewish settlements<sup>4</sup> on the West Bank (figure 2) only one has been established<sup>5</sup> since September 1984. This

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<sup>3</sup>Part of the increase in this figure is a result of an upward revision of 510 people for our September 1984 Ma'ale Adummim population estimate.

<sup>4</sup>This number includes nine sites of other civilian land use. Of the 160 residential settlements, 11 are graded sites with, as yet, no buildings, and an additional 11 remain unpopulated.

<sup>5</sup>We count a settlement as established once visible site preparation has commenced. Israeli authorities, however, use the term loosely, often considering a settlement as established once its civilian population has moved into quasipermanent quarters.

compares with 29 set up in 1982-83 and 16 in 1983-84. If no others are established by September 1985, the annual number will be the lowest since 1974. [REDACTED]

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A clause in the coalition agreement of September 1984 provided for the establishment of five to six new settlements within the year. The status of these six settlements, listed by the government in January 1985, is as follows:

- ° Asa'el is a small settlement of about 10 people residing in seven mobile homes south of Hebron. As yet, Asa'el is the only settlement established entirely under the National Unity government.
- ° Avne Hefez will be a community settlement constructed southeast of Tulkarm. No grading or site preparation has occurred here yet.
- ° Pelas is a Nahal settlement established in 1981 on the ridge overlooking the Jordan Valley in 1981. No additional work has occurred here since September 1984.
- ° Ne'ot Adummim, southeast of Jerusalem, was established without government approval shortly before the national elections last July. Presently, the settlement is contested by two groups: one right-wing, and the other practitioners of transcendental meditation (TM). The settlers survived the winter in tents, living without electricity, plumbing or a local water source. The only improvements introduced this spring were 14 mobile homes and a dirt road.
- ° Migdalim, southeast of Nablus, is another Nahal settlement, established in 1983. Because of its distance from Jerusalem, the Ne'ot Adummin TM group turned down this site. Instead, another TM group from inside Israel reportedly will move into Migdalim in August. These people likely will receive a hostile reception from Gush Emunim neighbors, who consider TM practitioners idolators.
- ° The sixth settlement is to be Zoref or Betar. Zoref is a Nahal settlement established in late 1982. No additional

work has occurred here since its founding. Site preparation at Betar began around August 1984, although no dwellings were introduced until May 1985 when disgruntled settlers unilaterally set up their tents here. Mobile homes and prefabs were later introduced during the summer. [REDACTED]

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The government's track record--one new settlement, authorized improvements in another, unauthorized improvements in the third, and no improvements in the rest--does not meet with the approval of the settlers. Israeli press reports claim that, as of early July, Likud Knesset members still were scrambling to find funding for the six settlements. The Israeli Agriculture Minister announced that even when the settlements are established, only the infrastructures will be set up. Some Labor Knesset members and Jewish Agency officials believe no money should be spent on the new settlements. Rather, they feel that the limited funds available should be applied to existing settlements, especially considering the reported \$80 million debt these settlements have accrued. Even some Gush Emunim officials are beginning to stress strengthening existing settlements instead of starting new ones. [REDACTED]

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Officials of the Council of Jewish Settlements in Judaea and Samaria claim that if the six are not set up by September, then the settlers will do the job unilaterally, as they did at Betar. The government has successfully thwarted such settler actions as the expansion of the Tel Rumeda settlement in Hebron, and the April 1985 attempt to establish an unauthorized settlement north of Ram Allah. Further attempts to set up unapproved settlements are likely, however, especially if existing feelers for negotiations on exchanging peace for territory prove more substantial. [REDACTED]

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## Israeli Settlements on the West Bank, July 1985

Settlements and Other Civilian Land Use (Type <sup>a</sup> )	Population	Capacity	New Units Since September 1984	
			Completed	Still Under Construction
Total	40,670	63,660	591	891
1. Abbir Ya'agov	15	35	7	0
2. Adam	55	85	0	0
3. Adnim	0	0	0	0
4. Adora (N)	35	50	2	0
5. Adorah	40	105	0	0
6. Alfe Menashe (U)	1,450	1,785	0	45
7. Allon Shevut (RC)	1,325	1,355	0	0
8. Almog (K)	105	195	0	0
9. Almon (C)	85	115	2	12
10. Argaman (M)	130	225	0	0
11. Ari'el (U)	2,185	4,575	117	266
12. Ari'el Industrial Site (I)	0	0	0	0
13. Asa'el	110	200	0	0
14. 'Ateret (C)	10	30	9	0
15. 'Ayn Fashkhah (RS)	0	0	0	0
16. Barqan (C)	230	250	0	0
17. Beqa'ot (M)	180	225	0	0
18. Berakha (C)	110	125	0	0
19. Betar	40	75	18	0
20. Bet Arye (C)	255	645	12	3
21. Bet El (C)	585	825	0	1
22. Bet El B (U)	485	515	6	0
23. Bet Ha'Arava	30	45	0	0
24. Bet Horon (C)	170	190	0	0
25. Bet Horon B (C)	35	110	0	0
26. Bet Yattir (M)	110	155	0	0
27. Brosh (N)	40	40	0	0
28. Canada Park (RS)	0	0	0	0
29. Dani'el	90	115	0	0
30. Dolev	70	135	0	0
31. Efratah (U)	775	1,085	19	5
32. El'azar (MS)	145	250	0	0
33. El David (C)	95	125	0	0
34. Eli	45	105	0	0
35. Elisha' (N)	20	45	0	0
36. Elon More (C)	355	750	0	0
37. Elqana (U)	525	545	0	0
38. Elqana C (C)	0	35	0	0

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<sup>a</sup>C-Community settlement, I-Industrial site, K-Kibbutz, M-Moshav,  
 MS-Moshav shitufi, N-Nahal settlement, RC-Regional Center,  
 RS-Recreational site, U-Urban settlement, Y-Yeshiva.

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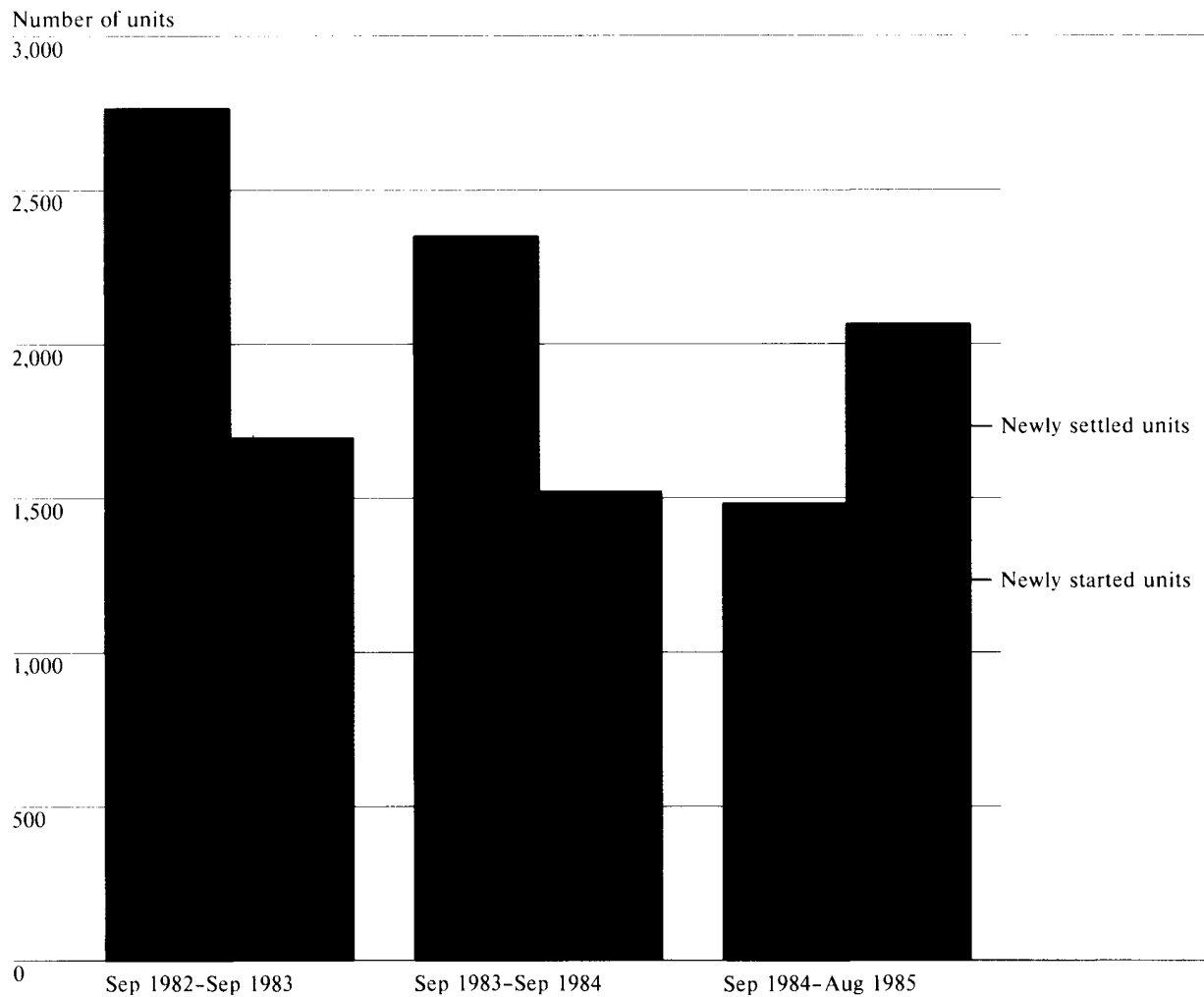
<u>Settlements and Other Civilian Land Use (Type<sup>a</sup>)</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Capacity</u>	<u>New Units Since September 1984</u>	
			<u>Completed</u>	<u>Still Under Construction</u>
39. Elqana D (C)	330	795	3	2
40. 'Enav (C)	150	200	0	0
41. Eshkolot (N)	25	35	3	0
42. Gane Modi'in (C)	0	0	0	7
43. Gannim	95	140	0	0
44. Geva'ot (N)	10	20	0	0
45. Gilgal (K)	290	490	15	0
46. Ginnat (N)	35	45	0	0
47. Ginnot Shomeron (C)	125	1,370	16	83
48. Gittit (M)	120	215	0	0
49. Giv'at Harsina (U)	130	365	10	5
50. Giv'at Ze'ev (U)	1,045	3,325	12	2
51. Giv'on (U)	250	365	0	0
52. Giv'on Hadassa (C)	165	280	2	0
53. Haggai	30	60	7	0
54. Hagiv'at Hamerkaziz	0	255	53	3
55. Hallamish (C)	405	565	0	0
56. Hamra (M)	245	300	0	0
57. Har Gilo (U)	225	480	0	0
58. Hebron Jewish Quarter (and adjacent occupied buildings)	200	200	0	0
59. Hermesh	65	120	0	0
60. Hinnanit (C)	105	170	0	0
61. Homesh (C)	135	210	0	0
62. 'Immanu'el (U)	2,330	4,915	47	245
63. 'Irit (N)	25	25	0	0
64. Jordan Valley Monument (RS)	0	0	0	0
65. Jordan Valley Regional Council Offices	40	55	6	0
66. Jordan Valley Service Center	0	0	0	0
67. Karmel (MS)	70	155	0	0
68. Kefar Adummim (C)	225	370	0	1
69. Kefar 'Ezyon (K)	320	320	0	0
70. Kefar Rut (M)	120	170	0	0
71. Kefar Tappuah (C)	140	165	0	12
72. Kokhav HaShahar (C)	175	250	0	11
73. Lido Yehuda (I/RS)	0	0	0	0
74. Ma'ale Adummim (U)	8,090	10,145	34	48
75. Ma'ale 'Amos (C)	185	275	0	0
76. Ma'ale Efrayim (U)	1,215	1,315	0	0
77. Ma'ale Hever (C)	60	95	0	0
78. Ma'ale Levona	45	105	0	0
79. Ma'ale Shomeron (C)	200	315	0	1
80. Makabim	0	0	0	0

<u>Settlements and Other Civilian Land Use (Type<sup>a</sup>)</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Capacity</u>	<u>New Units Since September 1984</u>	
			<u>Completed</u>	<u>Still Under Construction</u>
81. Manoah (N)	15	40	0	0
82. Ma'on (MS)	40	105	7	1
83. Massu'a (M)	140	220	0	0
84. Matkhan Tappuah (N)	20	20	0	0
85. Mattityahu (MS)	115	150	0	0
86. Mehola (M)	225	340	0	0
87. Mekhora (M)	190	250	0	0
88. Menora	0	0	0	0
89. Mevo Dotan (C)	125	210	0	0
90. Mevo Horon (MS)	240	240	2	0
91. Mezad	55	115	0	0
92. Migdalim (N)	20	20	0	0
93. Migdal 'Oz (K)	135	285	0	0
94. Mikhmas (C)	140	170	0	0
95. Mishor Adummim (RC)	115	235	0	0
96. Mishor Adummim	0	0	0	0
Industrial Center (I)				
97. Mizpe Deragot (RS)	25	55	0	0
98. Mizpe Shalem (K)	85	285	26	0
99. Mizpe Yeriho (C)	185	320	0	0
100. Moshe Zar's Mansion	0	10	0	0
101. Mul Nevo (N)	40	65	0	0
102. Na'ale (C)	195	210	0	0
103. Na'ama (M)	90	150	5	15
104. Nablus Yeshiva (Y)	5	10	0	0
105. Nahli'el	40	40	0	0
106. Negohot (N)	20	35	2	0
107. Ne'ot Adummim (C)	40	40	7	0
108. Netafim (C)	110	150	0	0
109. Netiv HaGedud (M)	160	245	0	0
110. Niran (K)	245	370	26	0
111. Niriyya	0	0	0	0
112. Nofim (C)	0	145	0	5
113. North Dead Sea	0	0	0	0
Solar Ponds (I)				
114. 'Ofarim (C)	0	0	0	0
115. 'Ofra (C)	570	835	0	0
116. 'Omarim (C)	35	35	0	0
117. Oranit (C)	0	430	10	61
118. 'Otni'el (C)	45	95	0	0
119. Pedu'el	65	170	9	0
120. Pelas (N)	35	45	0	0
121. Pesagot (RC)	220	270	0	0
122. Peza'el (M)	235	350	0	0
123. Qadim	35	90	3	13
124. Qalya (K)	245	400	22	0
125. Qarne Shomeron (U)	630	1,035	26	16

Settlements and Other Civilian Land Use (Type <sup>a</sup> )	Population	Capacity	New Units Since September 1984	
			Completed	Still Under Construction
126. Qarne Shomeron Industrial Site (I)	0	0	0	0
127. Qarne Zur (M)	25	110	0	0
128. Qedumim (C)	1,080	1,175	3	1
129. Qedumim Zefon (C)	85	85	0	0
130. Qiryat Arba' (U)	3,565	4,455	0	0
131. Ramat Modi'in	0	0	0	0
132. Rehan (MS)	50	150	0	0
133. Rimmonim (C)	140	245	0	0
134. Ro'i (M)	115	210	0	0
135. Rosh Zurim (K)	210	440	0	0
136. Rotem (N)	20	40	0	0
137. Sal'it (M)	175	215	0	0
138. Sa Nur	35	165	0	0
139. Sha'are Tiqwa (U)	90	405	7	12
140. Shadmot Mehola (MS)	160	210	7	0
141. Shaged (C)	170	170	0	0
142. Shave Shomeron (C)	325	475	0	0
143. Shilat (M)	200	315	0	2
144. Shillo (C)	475	580	6	7
145. Susya (M)	85	145	6	0
146. Telem	40	95	6	0
147. Tel Hayim	40	120	5	0
148. Tego'a (M)	240	320	0	3
149. Tomer (M)	190	270	0	0
150. Vered Yeriho (C)	170	210	0	0
151. Yabboq (N)	20	25	0	0
152. Yafit (M)	120	165	0	0
153. Yaqqir (C)	215	215	0	0
154. Yitav (K)	150	150	0	0
155. Yizhar	20	110	0	0
156. Yo'ezer (C)	95	130	6	0
157. Zamarot (C)	0	0	0	0
158. Zofim	0	0	0	0
159. Zohar (N)	30	30	0	0
160. Zoref (N)	20	45	0	0
161. Zori (N)	30	35	0	0
162. Site, NE of Ari'el	0	0	0	0
163. Site, SE of Elqana	0	0	0	0
164. Site, W of Elqana	0	0	0	0
165. Site, S of Hermesh	0	0	0	0
166. Site, adjacent to Kefar Rut	0	40	0	0
167. Site, NW of Kefar Tappuah	0	0	0	0
168. Site, W of Mevo Dotan	0	0	0	0
169. Site, NW of Sal'it	0	0	0	3

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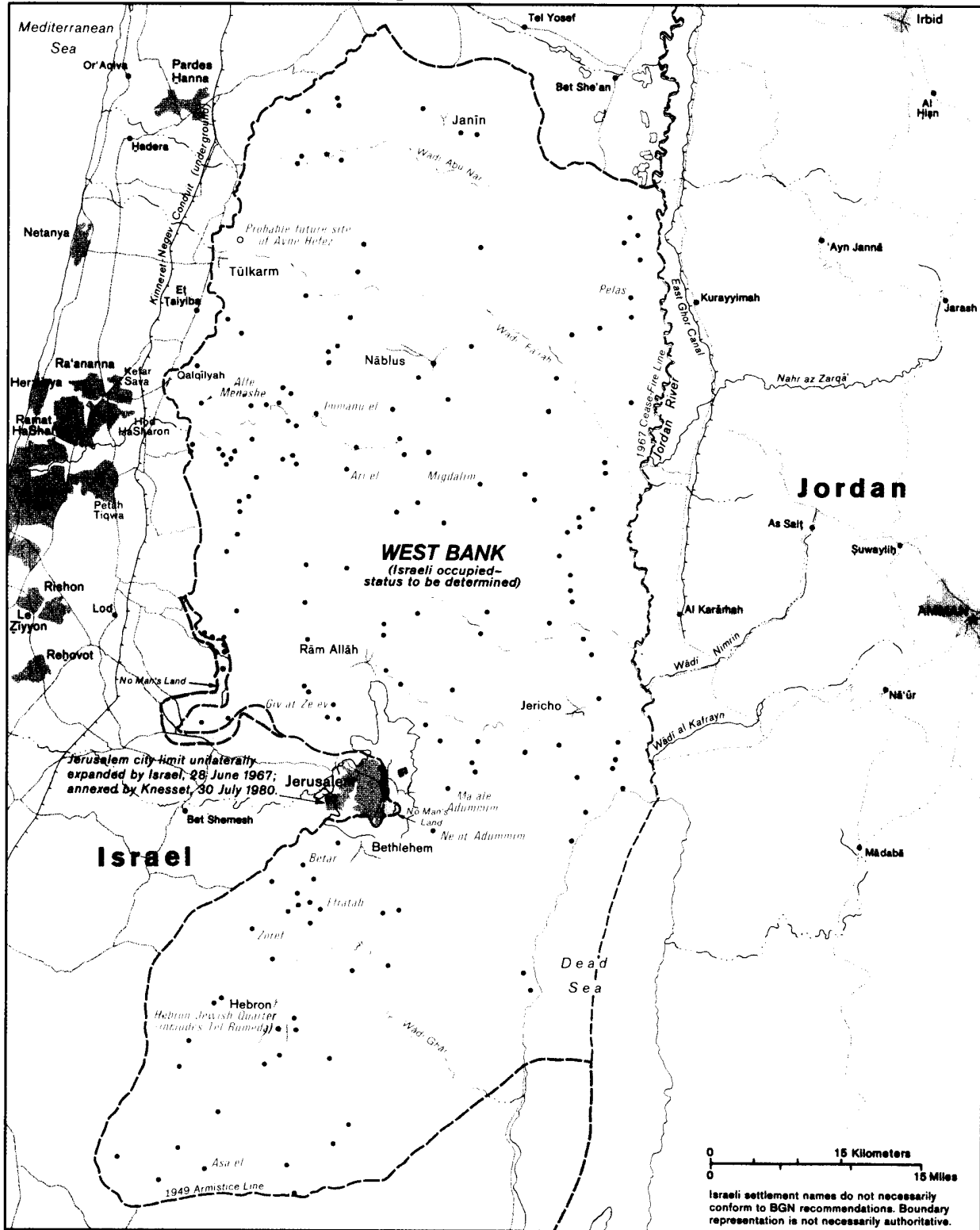
**Figure 1**  
**Newly Started and Newly Settled Living Units in the West Bank,**  
**September 1982–August 1985**



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**Figure 2**  
**Israeli Settlements in the West Bank, August 1985**



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